[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

[642] Art. 29. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

[643] Art. 30. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 31. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, twelve Vice-Presidents, according to the number of the Autonomous Republics, the Secretary of the Presidium and 13 Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 32. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for all its activities.

Art. 33. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;
b) Issues decrees;
c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Russian SFSR;
d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);
e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the

[645] Russian SFSR, the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories and regions and the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, if they do not conform to the law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Russian SFSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;
g) Institutes titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;
h) Confers titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;
i) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
j) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Russian SFSR to foreign states;
k) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

Art. 34. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 35. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

646 Art. 36. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

643 Art. 37. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
646 the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR orders
[644] new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 38. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR shall have formed a new presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 39. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 40. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR appoints the Government of
[646] the Russian SFSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Art. 41. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Russian SFSR is the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 42. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 44. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR are binding throughout the territory of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the Ministries of the Russian SFSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and verifies the work of the authorized representatives of the all-Union Ministries;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national-economic plan;

c) Adopts measures to fulfil the state and local budgets of the Russian SFSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

6: Tomasic F-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[89]

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*—The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe.

Such circumstances might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church.

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire.

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [Cf. cat. 11b, pp. 52-55--Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

795 771 779 643 over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 797 177 It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 797 648 793 It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

The ideology of Moscow imperial theocracy was rooted in the power-centered traditions of Russian princes, reinforced by a fusion of Mongol and Byzantine political ideas and practices. As among the Mongols, the Czar was considered to be the supreme owner of the body and of the property of his subjects, but as among the Byzantines he was also concerned with their souls. At the same time, according to the Muscovite political philosophy, the Czar as owner of his subjects derived his authority not from the people, as in Byzantium, but directly and exclusively from God.[7] Therefore, the Czar alone possessed rights, his subjects only duties.

In the Muscovite system of theocratical power not only was the Czar's freedom unlimited by any laws, but his personal will was not limited by any recognized human rights either. The Czar was considered to be limited only by his duty to God and by Divine law. The Czar, however, was himself the sole judge of his duty to God. He himself was the sole interpreter of Divine Law in regard to temporal affairs. Even the head of the Church could only supplicate but not advise him in these matters. The Czar was therefore at liberty to use the law capriciously as an instrument of his personal power, or to break the law at his convenience. And so he often did.[8]

Supported by the imperial ambitions of the Church, Muscovite rulers had two main objectives. One was the solidification of the unlimited personal power of the Czar to which all institutions of law and order were subjected; the other consisted of territorial expansion at the expense of the neighboring countries. The hereditary magnates—the local princes and the boyars—were obstacles in the path of both of these objectives. This landed aristocracy, following the traditions of early Russian princes, insisted on their personal and manorial privileges and resented any interference of the Muscovite Czar. They were therefore in favor of limitation of the Czar's power.

At the same time, however, these magnates were members of an advisory council to the Czar (*Boyarskaya Duma*); in this council some of them were closer to the Czar and formed an inner circle which exerted more power and influence on the affairs of the state. The boyars were therefore not unified and did not

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

III

The atmosphere of despotism, servility, fear and awe which developed under this system of total regimentation and dependency left an imprint on the habits and the attitudes of the people and had some influence on the shaping of their values and of their views of life. In conditions of complete dependency and domineering-subservience relationships, self-concern, destructive aggressiveness, as well as fatalistic resignation, are likely to thrive, not personal and social responsibility, moral obligations or group solidarity.

This trend of events meant also increasing social restlessness and political instability which in turn favored the rise to leadership of ruthless power-seekers and psychopaths. Lack of limitation on the personal power of the Czar, dissensions among the nobility and want of responsibility and of emotional balance in the person of the Czar led often to extreme excesses in Czar's rule.[11] All the attempts of the boyars to transform the Boyarskaya Duma into a legislative body were unsuccessful. Since the end of the seventeenth century even the *Zemski Sabor*, the consultative body of representatives of all classes, ceased to be convoked.

Only when the throne became vacant and the omnipotent Czar was gone did this nobility sometimes attempt to squeeze out promises and pledges from the pretenders to the throne. But, even then the remnants of the old boyar class and the new service nobility clashed over the question of control. Hence as soon as the new monarch was installed he did not have any difficulty in establishing his unlimited control and in proceeding to rule arbitrarily in face of a divided dvorianstvo.

The Czar could do anything he pleased with the nobles, including personal chastisement. They were treated as minors by the Czar and trained in blind and unconditional obedience. In the Czar's presence they observed dead silence. Anything that came from his hand, even the most degrading treatment, was to be received with resignation or even regarded as a sign of distinction. At the same time, however, while the nobles were exposed to all kinds of threat, terror and indignities on the part

7 [i.e. Czardom by end of 17th century.. Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

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the favors of one's superiors that one hoped to exercise more power and to achieve a higher degree of security.

Such a situation often demanded self-abasing and cringing humility toward superiors in the hierarchy as an adjustment to a situation of permanent insecurity and threat. ". . . those employed believe that they can never do enough to show their zeal."[8] "Without being base, it is impossible to get on," the officials themselves would say.[9] At the same time, perhaps as a compensation for degradation and loss of self-respect, there developed the propensity of the officials to show haughtiness and arrogance to those below them in rank and status. "A man, as soon as he rises a grade above the common level, acquires the right . . . to maltreat his inferiors to whom it is his duty to transmit the blows that he receives from those above him."[10]

In such conditions preoccupation with one's self rather than interest in group ideals and objectives thrived. There was therefore a tendency for selfish and petty concerns, greediness, venality, and corruption. Careerism prevailed over loyalty. Fortunes were made by many in public service as a security for the uncertain future.[11] The public opinion itself supported such behavior because it was expected that people who acquire office or any other positions of trust would take personal advantage of the situation. In some departments because of the inadequacy of the salaries and in order to meet the expected high standards of living the officials were considered to have tacit permission to have recourse to illicit perquisites. Administration, justice, police, the army and the navy, and even the clergy, all had their acknowledged perquisites, which often included bribes.[12]

In such conditions in which extreme self-concern thrived, the Czar himself did not feel safe and secure. This sense of insecurity on the very peak of power was reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the Czars not to tolerate any outstanding personalities in their midst.[13] The same feeling was reflected in the idea that any concession on the part of the Czar would be considered as a sign of weakness. The result was that the Czar was often surrounded by sycophants and careerists and had no close friends whom he could trust and on whom he could rely for support at all times. In such circumstances the Czar might feel isolated,

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643 imagine himself threatened by "enemies," and live in fear.[14] As
157 a defense against such feelings the Czar might be inclined to follow the advice of those of his officials who favored concentration of power and who advised against giving up any of his prerogatives or against any yielding to the demands of the opposition. "Constitution" to such a Czar and his camarilla was as dangerous as "revolution."

But such policies, which are rooted in a sense of extreme insecurity themselves tend to strengthen such feelings. Mistrust of people, fear of the "enemies," suppression of all opposition and tendency to concentrate increasingly the power in one's hands, to dominate and to demand absolute submissiveness is therefore perpetuated. Hence, power-relations in Russia of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tended to follow the pattern of rule established earlier in Muscovite Czardom:

661 The emperor Nicholas I ruled his country like a gamekeeper. Under
643 his administration of the empire, based as it was upon a system
566 of flogging, imprisonment, and exile to Siberia, the great could indulge their caprices with impunity . . . But . . . in reality . . . the masters were also slaves. Every man, whoever he might be, was dependent on someone more powerful than himself who could with impunity make him wretched, and over him again there was someone still mightier. The lord, it is true, lived in comfort, and the serfs in squalor, but that was all. They were all slaves, one as much as the other . . . I have seen both oppressors and oppressed at close quarters, and I can aver that the inhuman regime of bondage corrupted and depraved one as much as the other.[15]

625 Just as in the political organization of steppe nomads and in the Muscovite Czardom such relations of insecurity, mistrust, self-seeking, abusive domineering and blind subordination demanded an efficient system of watchfulness, vigilance, checking and counterchecking. A special attention therefore had to be paid to the institution of secret political police. Since the days of Czar Nicholas I, the secret political police, known as the Third Section, was placed above all ministries, and was directly subject to the Emperor himself, just as in the days of Ivan the Terrible. Like the Oprichniki of Ivan the Terrible the Third Section was the main agency of vigilance, the chief watchdog of the state. It

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Top ruling circles themselves often exhibited a great lack of self-control. A number of rulers showed a tendency toward excesses and extremes that bordered on insanity. Even the Czars of the nineteenth century, in spite of many Western moderating influences, showed tendencies toward instability and extremes in their behavior. Not seldom a new monarch would completely reverse the policies of his predecessor. The rulers tended to show great instability also in attitudes toward their advisers. They would turn suddenly against the old councilors and find new favorites. As a result often "the mighty of yesterday were sent to Siberia or the scaffold." But also barrack and bedchamber revolutions were frequent, reflecting the suddenly changing extremes in moods within the ruling cliques.

Lack of moderation and emotional instability was one of the favored themes of Russian belles-lettres of the nineteenth century. The heroes in these works often display an extremely unbalanced type of behavior. Feodor Chaliapin, who himself took part in producing such types on the Russian stage, states the following:

> . . . When I think of the characters I have created on the Russian stage, I am conscious not so much of the characters themselves as of an all pervading sense of the Russian temperament that is all extremes. . . . It seems as though Russian temperament is entirely devoid of moderation. . . . The fact remains that their contradictions are far more harsh and violent than those of most mentalities. . . . The Russian heart is infinitely pitiful and tender, but at the same time what gross and often completely aimless cruelty and tyranny are to be found in Russian life. The Russian soul is extraodinarily sensitized, but what brutality and lustful suspicion and vulgarism are to be found in human relationships. It is only too true that neither in good nor in evil can the Russian steer a middle course . . .[8]

In *Khovantchina* it is religious fanaticism, and how profound and powerful is that fanaticism! A normal mind could not possibly comprehend that perfect serenity which enables men to die for their belief. They stand on the sheer rampart, utterly oblivious of the stairway by which they might descend to safety. They batter their heads against the wall, unconscious of pain . . . In Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitane* I take the part of Ivan the Terrible. He, the Tsar, cares nothing that the river runs red with blood, so illimitable is his knowledge of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.[2] In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.[1] In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

> In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .[3]

[1] [i.e. in December, 1825 — Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the principal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Great-Russian peasant saw the need to keep on good terms with this ruler of the underworld.

Since the Czar was identified with God, the peasant's feeling toward the Czar was like his attitude toward God. He knew that the Czar was as omnipotent as God. "Everything is in the power of God and the Czar," he would say. Therefore, he feared the Czar like he feared God, he felt an awe before the Czar as before God, and he hoped for the best, but it can hardly be said that he had much love for him. "Czar is not fire, but if you come close to him you will burn yourself," he would say. His idea was also that "Where there is Czar there is fear and dread," and that "Czar's rage spreads death." Since God was so far away, detached, neglectful, and implacable, it was the Czar's fearful power that mattered. "God's is the will, but the court is Czar's," he would say.[5]

The peasant's feelings toward the supreme power of the world and of the universe reflected only his bitter experiences with the representatives of these powers on the earth with whom he had to deal in local affairs. Often these did not bring justice, but venality, arbitrariness and persecution. "The court is founded on untruth and injustice"; "Where there is court there is chicanery," he would say. And since the judges were corrupted, the only way to get anything from them was to bribe them. "The judge is useful as much as the pocket is helpful," he would say. Such action, however, was not always advisable because of greediness of the judges. "You will never fill a judge's pocket"; "Do not litigate, you will strangle yourself."[6]

Because of his traditional distrust of authorities the peasant showed also a profound lack of trust in all written laws. He likened the law to the cobweb whose purpose was to catch the small and helpless, not the big and powerful ("The bumblebee will break through, the fly will get stuck."). He also compared the law to a tool that could be used arbitrarily by those who held it in their hands ("The law is like shaft, you turn it wherever you want it."). He noticed that "those who write the laws also break them," and concluded that "It is in vain to write laws if they are not carried out." In accordance with the Old-Slavonic anarchic and equalitarian traditions he was inclined to believe

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

771 829 will live eternally. Yes, Lenin lives, his spirit is immortal—his idea is eternal—the leaves of his wonder books are imperishable.[36]

769 643 Lenin is represented not only as the architect of a promised world, but also as a prophet, all of whose prophecies have come to pass (*svershayutsya vse prorochestva Lenina*). There is an officially sponsored cult of Lenin which is propagated by means of many legends that surround his life, his activities, his martyrdom, and his death. He lies mummified in a mausoleum where thousands of pilgrims daily come to worship him. And throughout the country there are numerous Lenin's museums which, like the churches, remind the faithful of the omnipresence of Lenin's spirit. It is the aim of the ruling hierarchy to make their subjects incorporate in their conscience the image of a holy, infallible, and immortal Lenin in whose name the Bolsheviks will be able to make great demands:

> Here everything is eternal,
> Here everything is holiness
> Here sleeps a great Man—
> He and the people are inseparable
> He is—the Conscience of my Motherland.[37]

771 643 Accordingly, as in its worship of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks is tireless in propagating the cult and the iconolatry of Stalin, who is pictured as Lenin's best pupil, as his closest friend and collaborator, and as his legitimate successor. In poems dedicated to him, Stalin is acclaimed as the "master of the entire world"; he is pictured as foreseeing the coming events and disasters, as possessing miraculous powers and life-giving qualities, and as being able to conquer death itself.[38]

With the death of Stalin, the Party is faced with the problem of molding the image of a new Leader with God-like qualities and patriarchal prerogatives. The Soviet press is now picturing Malenkov, one of the present top Party men, as being the pupil of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Stalin. It is by means of such filiation that a new ruler acquires the attributes of the old deities.

000 Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia: RF1

665 The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the
208 Party leader would not produce desired effects unless supported by rewards, that is, actual gains or hopes of gains ascribed to his wisdom. It is for this reason that Stalin's name is invariably linked with and symbolically attached to all the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet system. Stalin is also pictured as incorporating in himself longings and aspirations, dreams and yearnings both of the Soviet people and of all the oppressed and humiliated in the world, of all those who are rejected and deprived of good things in life. Such an image of Stalin strengthens culturally and structurally rooted identification with suffering. He is therefore represented as a symbol of the interests and hopes of all hard-working and suffering mankind. Hence the epoch in which we live, the epoch that is renowned for the strivings of the working masses (of those who suffer), for acceptance in an equalitarian society is to be known as "Stalin's Epoch" (*Stalinskaya Epokha*).

869 But even this linking of Stalin's name with all significant
643 achievements of Soviet society in the field of economy, government, science, and art is not considered sufficient to prevent doubts and skepticism. Deep faith in the Vozhd and identification with him which will be so strong that it will endure most adverse circumstances and make people ready for great and supreme sacrifices must be instilled early in childhood. Thus already in nurseries the children were given toys on which it was inscribed "Thanks to Comrade Stalin for happy and joyful childhood" (*Spasibo tovarishchu Stalinu z schastlivoe i radostnoe detstvo*). Small children are taught to recite stories which emphasize the dependence of the whole country upon Vozhd who is compared with the rising sun. The Soviet children are told that no child and no youth is so fortunate in any other place in the world. They are assured that Vozhd is doing everything in his power to make their lives prósperous and happy. The children are expected therefore to show a feeling of gratitude toward Vozhd, the Party, and the government and must grow up as worthy fighters to take the place of the present leaders:

> We, the children of the Soviet Union, the happiest country in the world, feel the constant solicitude for us by the Party, the government, and our beloved leader, comrade Stalin.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children of the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school. We must grow up as fighters worthy to take the place of those now present here (*Applause*)—as fighters devoted to the cause of the Party, devoted to the cause of the Communist International (*Applause*). Long live our beloved Stalin! (*Applause*).[40]

Accordingly the study and imitation of the life of the two deified Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, is considered to be one of the primary duties and a sacred obligation of every Pioneer and Komsomol. The aim of the Party is to form the conscience of the young according to an idealized image of Lenin and Stalin. Young people are told to think constantly of their leaders, to be inspired by them, to follow them, and to love them. It is often pointed out that the reason that Stalin became so great and achieved the leading position in the Party was because he was such a faithful follower and loyal disciple of Lenin. "We must do everything so that our life is such as the unforgettable Iliich wanted it to be."[41] "In the soul of each one of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. That is the image of the great Stalin."[42] And if a Pioneer or Komsomol is relaxing in his duties and vigilance, he is instantly reminded: "Comrade Iliich would not have approved of you." Stalin himself in his speeches often stressed the need to imitate Lenin:

> Remember, love, study, Iliich, our teacher, our leader. Fight and defeat enemies, internal and external—like Iliich. Build a new existence, a new mode of life, a new culture—like Iliich. Never refuse to do even the smallest jobs, because out of little things the great things are constructed—this is one of the important legacies of Iliich.[43]

IV.

The apotheosis of Stalin did not seem to have sufficient appeal among sophisticated and disaffected intelligentsia, nor among dissatisfied and apathetic laboring masses who tended to blame Stalin for their ills. Nor was the identification of the Party with Mother sufficient to inspire faith in Bolshevik system. It was